husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ina* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 582 595 591 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. 105 177 [847]

[P. 32-A]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about her food. In general the mother of a young woman informs her about her condition. The Terena have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and *kochuechâti*. The Terena distinguish between a married man who is a father and one who is not, a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *sáa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were practiced. Whether this was an original Terena custom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not certain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood that the Terena took over this custom from the Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for infanticide is that it permitted a family to have male and female children alternately. If the first child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if a boy was born, he was put to death by being strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family had too many children, or if children were inconvenient, the expectant mother would go to a shaman who would make her drink a beverage prepared from certain roots. If this failed the mother might still have the child strangled. If a male child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys one would be killed. Twins were due, they believed, to the fact that the mother had eaten double fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, gave birth in her own home, attended by her mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena remember, no special knife was necessary to perform this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to give birth the mother squatted on her heels, supporting herself by holding on to some stationary object. The midwife would massage her abdomen and assist in the removal of the child. The midwife then washed the child and gave it to the mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóons* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it.

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced.

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only.

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish.

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
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a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.